

## AMERICA SHALL NOT BE MADE ARMED CAMP

Country Should Be Jealous of Its  
Record as Champion of Peace  
and Concord.

### DEFENSES NOT NEGLECTED

President Wilson, in Annual Message, Replies to Critics of Military Policy—Pleads for Merchant Marine, and Outlines Legislation.

### President Wilson's Legislative Program

In his annual message to Congress President Wilson has replied to those who have criticized this country's preparations for defense. He has said that the United States may be instrumental in restoring Europe to peace and that it is the duty of the United States to take advantage of commercial opportunities by reason of lack of competition from other nations. He has also said that the United States should be jealous of its record as champion of peace and concord. He has outlined a legislative program for the coming year, which includes the following:

1. To take advantage of commercial opportunities by reason of lack of competition from other nations.

2. To provide for government-owned merchant marine.

3. To ratify the London convention for safety at sea, and passage of measure for chartering port waters on Alaskan coast.

4. To provide for the regulation of business, in complete.

WASHINGTON, December 8.—President Wilson, in his annual address to Congress to-day, gave his answer to those who contend the United States is unprepared for national defense.

Assembled in joint session in the hall of the House, Senators and Representatives heard the President, reading his message in the presence of the chief executives of the country. The President's message was a long one, and he spoke for nearly two hours. He outlined a legislative program and gave his answer to those who contend the United States is unprepared for national defense.

The session upon which you are now entering will be the closing session of the Sixty-third Congress, a Congress I venture to say, which will long be remembered for the great body of constructive work which it has done, and for the response to the thought and needs of the country. I should like in this address to review the notable record and try to make clear to you the reasons why we stand to-day upon the ground upon which we stand. I should like to review the notable record and try to make clear to you the reasons why we stand to-day upon the ground upon which we stand.

Our program of legislation with regard to the regulation of business is now virtually complete. It has been put forth, as we intended, as a whole, and leaves no conjecture as to what is to follow. The road at last lies clear and firm before business. It is a road which it can travel without fear or embarrassment. It is the road to ungrudging, unclouded success. In history, no man, every man who believes that the public interest is the basis of his own interest, may walk with perfect confidence.

Moreover, our thoughts are now more of the future than of the past. While we have worked at the tasks of peace, the circumstances of the whole have been altered by war. What we have done for our own land and our own people we did with the best that was in us, with the best of our intelligence, with the best of our confidence in the principles upon which we were acting which sustained us at every step of the difficult undertaking, but I have passed from our hands. It is now an established part of the legislation of the country. Its usefulness, its effects will be made clear in experience. What chiefly strikes me as I look about us during these closing days of a year which will be forever memorable in the history of the world, is that we face new tasks, have been facing them for six months, and we have them in the months to come—like them without partisan feeling, like men who have forgotten everything but a common duty and the fact that we are representatives of a great people whose thought is not of us, but of what America owes to herself and to all mankind in such circumstances as these, upon which we look amazed and anxious.

### TREMENDOUS PROBLEMS ARE BROUGHT BY WAR

War has interrupted the means of trade not only, but also the processes of production. In Europe it is destroying men and resources wholesale, and up to a scale unprecedented and appalling. There is reason to fear that the time is near, if it be not already at hand, when several of the countries of Europe will find it difficult to do for their people what they have hitherto been always able to do—many essential and fundamental things. At any rate, they will need our help and our manifold resources as they have never needed them before, and we should be ready, more fit and ready than we have ever been.

It is of equal consequence that the nations of whom Europe has usually supplied with innumerable articles of manufacture and commerce, which they are in constant need, and without which their economic development halts and stand still, can now get only a small part of what they formerly imported, and eagerly look to us to supply their all but empty markets. This is particularly true of our own neighbors, the states, great and small, of Central and South America. Their lines of trade have hitherto run chiefly toward the seas, not to our ports, but to the ports of Great Britain and of the older Continent of Europe. I do not stop to inquire why, or to make any comment on probable causes. What interests us just now is not the explanation, but the fact, and our duty and opportunity in the presence of it. We are market-makers, we must supply, and we must find the means of supply. The United States, this great people for whom we speak and act, should be ready, as never before, to serve itself and to serve mankind; ready with its resources, its energies, its forces of production, and its means of distribution.

### HAVE WISH TO SERVE, BUT ARE NOT PREPARED

It is a very practical matter, a matter of ways and means. We have the resources, but are we ready to use them? And, if we can make ready what we have, have we the means at hand to distribute it? We are not fully ready, neither have we the means of distribution. We are willing, but we are not fully able. We have the wish to serve and to serve greatly, generously; but we are not prepared as we

should be. We are not ready to mobilize our resources at once. We are not prepared to use them immediately and at their best, without delay and without waste.

To speak plainly, we have grossly erred in the way in which we have attempted to hinder the development of our merchant marine. And now, when we need ships, we have not got them. We have year after year debated, without end or conclusion, the best way to pursue with regard to the use of the ores and forests and water powers of our national domain in the rich States of the West, when we should have acted; and they are still locked up. The key is still turned upon them, the door shut fast, at which thousands of vigorous men, full of initiative, knock clamorously for admittance. The water power of our navigable streams outside the national domain also, even in the Eastern States, where we have worked and planned for generations, is still not used as it might be, because we will and we want; because the unworkable and do not intelligently balance encouragement against restraint. We withhold by regulation.

I have come to ask you to remedy these mistakes and omissions, even at this late hour of a Congress which would certainly seem to have done all the work that could reasonably be expected of it. The time and circumstances are extraordinary, and so must our efforts be also. Fortunately, two great measures, finely conceived, the one to unlock, with proper safeguards, the resources of the national domain, the other to encourage the use of the navigable waters outside that domain for the generation of power, have already passed the House of Representatives and are before the Senate. With the deepest earnestness, I urge their prompt passage. In them both we turn our backs upon hesitation and makeshift, and we face the future with confidence and conservation, in the best sense of those words. We owe the one measure not only to the people of that great western country for whose free and systematic development, as it seems to me, our legislation has done so little, but also to the people of the nation as a whole; and we as clearly owe the other to the fulfillment of our repeated promises that the water power of the country should, in fact as well as in name, be put at the disposal of great industries which can make economical use of it, the rights of the public being adequately protected while, and monopoly in the prevented. To have begun such measures and not completed them would be a record of this great Congress very far from creditable, and I confidently believe that they will be completed.

### WOULD FULFILL PROMISES TO PEOPLE OF PHILIPPINES

And there is another great piece of legislation which awaits and should receive the sanction of the Senate. It means the bill which gives a larger measure of self-government to the people of the Philippines. How better, in this time of anxious questioning and perplexed policy, could we show confidence in the principles of liberty, as the source as well as the expression of life, how better could we demonstrate our steadfastness in the cause of justice and disinterestedness, than by thus going calmly forward to fulfill our promises to a dependent people, who are looking to us more anxiously than ever to see whether we have indeed the liberality, the unselfishness, the courage, the faith we have boasted and professed? I cannot believe that the Senate will let this great measure of constructive justice await the action of another Congress. Its passage would nobly crown the record of these two years of memorable labor.

But I think that you will agree with me that this does not complete the task of our duty. How are we to carry our goods to the empty markets of which I have spoken if we have not the ships? How are we to build up a great trade if we have not the certain and constant means of transportation upon which all profitable and useful commerce depends? And how are we to get the ships if we wait for the market to develop without them? To correct many mistakes by which we have discouraged and all but destroyed the merchant marine of the country, to trace the steps which we have taken, it seems almost deliberately, withdrawn our flag from the seas, except where, here and there, a ship of war is hidden away, it would take a long and arduous task, to involve many detailed items of legislation, and the trade which we ought immediately to handle would disappear or find other channels where we debated the items.

### PROPOSES ANOTHER WAY OF PROVIDING TRANSPORTATION

The case is not unlike that which confronted us when our own continent was to be opened up to settlement and industry, and we needed long lines of railway, extended means of transportation prepared beforehand, if development was not to lag intolerably and wait interminably. We lavishly subsidized the building of transcontinental railroads. We look back upon that with regret now, because the subsidies led to many scandals of which we are ashamed; but we know that the railroads had to be built, and if we had it to do over again we should, of course, build them, but in another way. Therefore, I propose another way of providing the means of transportation, which must precede, not tardily follow, the development of our trade with our neighbor states of America. It may seem a reversal of the natural order of things, but it is true, that

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## Wilson's Stand on National Defense Shown by Excerpts From Message

It is said in some quarters that we are not prepared for war. What is meant by being prepared? Is it meant that we are not ready upon brief notice to put a nation in the field, a nation of men trained to arms? Of course, we are not ready to do that, and we shall never be in time of peace so long as we retain our present political principles and institutions. To defend ourselves against attack? We have always found means to do that, and shall find them whenever it is necessary without calling our people away from their necessary tasks to render compulsory military service in times of peace.

We never have had, and while we retain our present principles and ideals we never shall have, a large standing army.

We will not ask our young men to spend the best years of their lives making soldiers of themselves. And especially when half the world is on fire we shall be careful to make our moral insurance against the spread of the conflagration very definite and certain and adequate indeed.

We must depend in every time of national peril upon citizenry not trained and accustomed to arms.

It is right, too, that the National Guard of the States should be developed and strengthened by every means which is not inconsistent with our obligations to our own people and with the established policy of our government. More than this carries with it a reversal of the whole history and character of our policy.

A powerful navy we have always regarded as our proper and natural means of defense, and it has always been and sensibly agreed upon a policy of never of aggression or of conquest. We shall take leave to be strong upon the seas, in the future as in the past; and there will be no thought of offense or of provocation in that.

We shall not alter our attitude toward it because some amongst us are ready and anxious to do so. We shall continue to be strong upon the seas, in the future as in the past; and there will be no thought of offense or of provocation in that.

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posed to be well-known main channels. We have not provided adequate vessels and adequate machinery for the survey and charting. We have used old vessels that were not big enough or strong enough, and which were not adequate for the purpose. Inspectors would not have allowed private owners to send them to sea. This is a matter which, as I have said, seems small, but is in reality very great. Its importance lies only to be looked into to be appreciated.

### DUTY OF ECONOMY IS NOT DEBATABLE

Before I close may I say a few words upon two topics, much discussed of late, upon which it is highly important that our government should be clear, definite and steadfast?

One of these is economy in government expenditures. The duty of economy is not debatable. It is manifest and imperative. In the appropriations we make we are spending the money of the great people whose servants we are—not our own. We are trustees and responsible stewards in the spending. The only thing debatable and upon which we should be careful to make our thought and purpose clear is the kind of economy demanded of us. I assert with the greatest confidence that the people of the United States are not jealous of the amount their government costs if they are sure that they get what they need and desire for the outlay, that the money is being spent for objects of which they approve, and that it is being applied with good business sense and management.

Governments grow, piecemeal, both in their tasks and in the means by which those tasks are to be performed, and very few governments are organized, venture to say, with the foresight and the foresight of a great business man would organize them if they had a clear sheet of paper to write upon. Certainly the government of the United States is not organized in that way. It is generally agreed that there should be a systematic reorganization and reassembling of its parts, so as to secure greater efficiency and effect, considerable savings in expense. But the amount of money saved in that way would, I believe, though no doubt considerable in itself, running, it may be, into the millions, be relatively small. I mean care, proportion to the total necessary outlays of the government. It would be thoroughly well effecting, as every saving would, great or small. Our duty is not to be deterred by the scale of the saving, but my point is that the people of the United States do not wish to curtail the activities of this government; they wish, rather, to enlarge them; and with every enlargement, with every growth, indeed, of the country itself, there must come, of course, the inevitable increase of expense. The sort of economy we ought to practice, may be effected, and ought to be effected, by a careful study and assessment of the tasks to be performed; and the money spent ought to be made to yield the best possible returns in efficiency and achievement. And, like good stewards, we should so account for every dollar of our appropriations as to make it perfectly evident what it was spent for and in what way it was spent.

It is not expenditure but extravagance that we should fear being criticized for; not paying for the legitimate enterprises and undertakings of a great government whose people command

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what it should do, but adding what will benefit only a few or pouring money out for what need not have been expended at all. It might have been postponed or better and more economically conceived and carried out. The nation is not niggardly; it is very generous. It will chide us only if we forget for what we pay money out, and whose money it is we pay. These are large and general standards, but they are not very difficult of application to particular cases.

### SUGGESTIONS ARE MADE FOR NATIONAL DEFENSE

The other topic I shall take leave to mention goes deeper into the principles of our national life and policy. It is the subject of national defense.

It cannot be discussed without first answering some very searching questions. It is said in some quarters that we are not prepared for war. What is meant by being prepared? Is it meant that we are not ready upon brief notice to put a nation in the field, a nation of men trained to arms? Of course, we are not ready to do that, and we shall never be in time of peace so long as we retain our present political principles and institutions. And what is it that it is suggested we should be prepared to do? To defend ourselves against attack? We have always found means to do that, and shall find them whenever it is necessary without calling our people away from their necessary tasks to render compulsory military service in times of peace.

Allow me to speak with great plainness and directness upon this great matter and to avoid my comments with deep earnestness. I have tried to know what America is, what her people think, what they are, what they live, and what they desire. I hope that some of their finer passions are in my own heart—some of the great conceptions and desires which gave birth to this government, and which have made the voice of this people a voice of peace and hope and liberty among the peoples of the world, and that speaking my own thoughts, I shall, at least in part, speak theirs also, however faintly and inadequately, upon this vital matter.

We are at peace with all the world. No one who speaks counsel based on fact or drawn from a just and candid interpretation of realities can say that there is reason to fear that the integrity of our territory is threatened. Dread of the power of any other nation is not a reason for fear. We are not jealous of rivalry in the fields of commerce or of any other peaceful achievement. We mean to live our own lives as we will, but we mean also to let all the nations of the world, because we threaten none, covet the possessions of none, desire the overthrow of none. Our friendship can be accepted and accepted without reservation, because it is based on a spirit and for a purpose which no one need ever question or suspect. There lies our greatness. We are the champions of peace and of concord. And we should be very jealous of this distinction which we have sought to earn. Just now we should be particularly jealous of it, because it is our dearest present hope that this character and reputation may presently, in God's providence, bring us an opportunity such as has seldom been offered to any nation, the opportunity to counsel and obtain peace in the world and reconciliation and a healing settlement of many a matter that has cooled and interrupted the friendship of nations. This is the time above all others when we should wish and resolve to keep our strength by self-possession, our influence by preserving our ancient principles of action.

### SHALL NOT TURN AMERICA INTO MILITARY CAMP

From the first we have had a clear

settled policy with regard to military establishments. We never have had, and while we retain our present principles and ideals we never shall have, a large standing army. If asked, Are you ready to defend yourselves? We reply, Most assuredly; to the utmost; and yet we shall not turn America into a military camp. We will not ask our young men to spend the best years of their lives making soldiers of themselves. There is another way of providing the means of transportation, which must precede, not tardily follow, the development of our trade with our neighbor states of America. It may seem a reversal of the natural order of things, but it is true, that

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